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Part II

The Party Becomes Conservative, 1855-1856

TRADITIONAL accounts of the origin of the Republican party in Illinois conclude that the Republican movement of 1854 died out after the election of that year, and that an entirely new, and more conservative, organization was established as a result of the anti-Nebraska editors' convention at Decatur, Illinois, on February 22, 1856. These accounts have gone astray as a result of the willingness of early historians and their successors to accept the testimony of a few witnesses who were active in the Decatur convention or became identified with the Lincoln movement at a later date. A thorough study of the newspapers of 1855 and 1856 shows that these early historians did not present an accurate account of the origin of the Republican party in Illinois.

The eminent historian Arthur C. Cole assumed that Abraham Lincoln's rejection of a seat on the Republican State Central Committee in

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1854 "caused the prompt death of this 'republican' state organization."¹ Other historians have followed Cole's lead.² The interpretation of these modern historians was apparently influenced more by Paul Selby than by any of his contemporaries. In the 1850's Selby was editor of the Whig *Morgan Journal* of Jacksonville, and was the first to propose a convention of anti-Nebraska editors. When that convention met, Selby was elected president. At the end of the century he wrote that the Republican movement of 1854 collapsed after the November 7 election of that year.³

In northern Illinois the Republican party had by that time taken on the character of a permanent political organization, with both Free-Soilers and Whigs joining the movement.⁴ The election of 1854 was still a topic of general newspaper comment when the reorganized Republican Committee began to make plans for continuing the fusion forces as the Republican party. Committee members hoped that the party would become a political, educational, and propaganda force in the tradition of the early Liberty party. Like the political abolitionists of the 1840's the committee proposed to send a lecturer into the field to win converts to the cause. There was no hesitation about the choice of lecturer. Although other renowned political abolitionist lecturers resided in the region, Ichabod Coddington was the unanimous choice of the committee members.⁵ The new Whig and Dem-

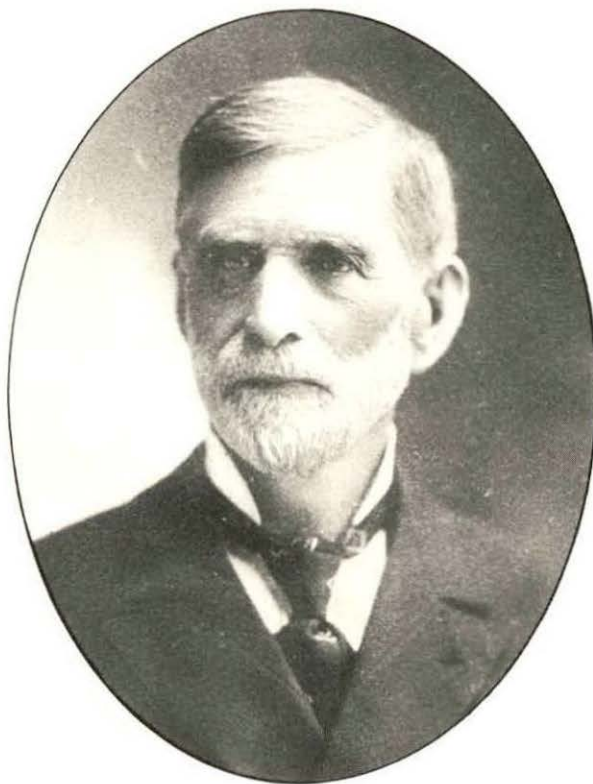
1. Arthur Charles Cole, *The Era of the Civil War, 1848-1870*, The Centennial History of Illinois, Vol. 3 (Springfield: Illinois Centennial Commission, 1919), p. 129.

2. Don E. Fehrenbacher, *Prelude to Greatness: Lincoln in the 1850's* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1962), p. 35, refers to the Republican organization of 1854 as the "abortive 'Republican' movement." Edward Magdol, *Owen Lovejoy: Abolitionist in Congress* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1967), p. 128, speaks of it as "the prematurely organized Republican party." Jay Monaghan, *The Man Who Elected Lincoln* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1956), p. 39, calls the movement "the would-be Republicans." John S. Wright, *Lincoln and the Politics of Slavery* (Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1970), p. 82, states that the abolitionist Republican party "died out after the election of 1854."

3. Paul Selby, "Republican State Convention, Springfield, Ill., October 4-5, 1854," *Transactions of the McLean County Historical Society* . . . , 3 (1900), 45, 47. A similar view is taken by other contemporaries associated with the Decatur and Bloomington conventions of 1856; see John Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln: A History* (New York: Century Co., 1890), II, 23; John Moses, *Illinois, Historical and Statistical* . . . , II (Chicago: Fergus Printing Co., 1892), 598-99. Moses, who edited the Whig *Winchester Chronicle*, seconded the proposal to call an anti-Nebraska editors' convention; see Charles A. Church, *History of the Republican Party in Illinois, 1854-1912* . . . (Rockford, Ill.: Wilson Brothers, Printers, 1912), pp. 25-26, 31.

4. C. G. Holbrook to E. B. Washburne, Dec. 30, 1854, E. B. Washburne Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

5. John Cross resided in Ill. and Alanson St. Clair lived in the Midwest. Both were political abolitionist lecturers dating back to the 1830's.



PAUL SELBY

ocratic recruits into the antislavery ranks were his strongest proponents in the committee.⁶

Codding had won this following because of his record of accomplishments on the lecture platform after coming to Illinois in 1843. Zebina Eastman, editor of the *Free West* and one of Codding's strongest advocates, had first heard him in Jamaica, Vermont, in 1836. Eastman recollected later that Codding destroyed any justification of slavery by using scriptural principles. Codding was an ordained Congregationalist minister and throughout his career occupied a pulpit on Sunday. In his antislavery lectures, "he brought out the 'Bible argument' in a clear, logical manner, quoting passage after passage to clinch every argument. . . . The audience was held in perfect control by his chain of evidence and fluent utterance," Eastman recalled.⁷ The comments of a correspondent from Magnolia, Illinois, to the *Western Citizen* in 1846, were typical of the reaction of those who heard Codding. "He is a thunderbolt, His eloquence and his

6. *Free West* (Chicago), Dec. 28, 1854, p. 2.

7. *Emancipator* (New York), April 20, 1837, p. 2; Hannah Maria Preston Codding, "Ichabod Codding," *Proceedings of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin . . . 1897* (Madison: Democrat Printing Co., 1898), p. 175.

arguments are as irresistible as the impetuous torrent of Niagara."⁸ Codding was also effective with repartee. A correspondent who heard him in Freeport in 1849 wrote the *Rockford Free Press* that Codding was calm and courteous, but his attack cut like a knife. "So keen was the blade, and so neatly was it done, that the wounded and dying man almost thanked the operator with his dying breath, for killing him so skillfully."⁹ Like his mentor Theodore Weld, who had brought him into the antislavery movement, Codding won his audiences over by using evangelistic techniques.

After his appointment Codding lost no time getting into the field. He opened his series of lectures on the "Principles of the Republican Party" on January 1, 1855, in La Salle County and toured Putnam, Marshall, Bureau, Woodford, Tazewell, McLean, and DeWitt counties from January to April. Since these were strong antislavery counties, Codding hoped to raise enough funds from lecture donations there to help finance a tour of southern Illinois.¹⁰

By mid-April Codding had completed his scheduled tour and was in Chicago to consult with the Republican Committee. He found quarters in the Tremont House before calling on his associates, but within an hour after arrival he was huddled in the office of the *Free West* with Eastman, Lovejoy, John C. Vaughan, Henry W. Blodgett, and others who made up the new improvised central committee of the state Republican party.¹¹ In the next two days Codding spent most of his time with Vaughan, who had become the prime mover in a new secret lodge called the "Know-Something Order." It had been organized earlier that month and attracted at least eight hundred members after one meeting. The new lodge renounced the Know-Nothing pledge and embraced an antislavery creed. It was considered to be an "effective antidote for the Know-Nothing bane."¹²

With much of the advance planning out of the way, Codding set out to

8. *Western Citizen* (Chicago), May 13, 1846, p. 1.

9. *Rockford Free Press*, March 31, 1849, p. 2.

10. Letters of Codding to Maria P. Gooding, Mt. Palatine, Ill., March 6, 1855; Hennepin, March 9, 1855; Mt. Palatine, March 11, 1855; Metamora, March 17, 18, 1855; Morton, March 21, 26, 28, 1855; and Codding memorandum of receipts, Dec. 1, 1854, to Oct. 8, 1855; all in Ichabod Codding-Isaac Preston Family Papers, in possession of Howard S. Miller, Los Angeles, Calif.; used with permission of Miller and Julia Bourland Smith, owner.

11. Joseph Medill, owner of the *Tribune*, had brought Vaughan from Cleveland to Chicago to work as an editor of the *Tribune*. Blodgett had been elected to the lower house of the state legislature as a Free-Soiler from Lake County in 1852.

12. Codding to Maria P. Gooding, Chicago, April 14, 15, 1855, Codding-Preston Family Pap-

try to mold public opinion through the pages of the *Free West*. The press was not a new media to Coddington. He had helped edit the *Advocate of Freedom* in Maine, the *Charter Oak* in Connecticut, and the *American Freeman* in Wisconsin. In the May 24 *Free West*, Coddington warned the people that the American party was a proslavery organization that was attempting to wink the slavery issue out of sight. Its efforts to ignore, avoid, or repudiate the slavery issue were already beginning to weaken it, however, and Coddington predicted that the party would die before it arrived at its majority. He wrote a similar letter to the *Chicago Daily Tribune* in which he urged all friends of freedom to "stand erect upon their great republican principles" and demand that any political party winning their allegiance must support repeal of the Fugitive Slave Law and abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and the territories. The Republican party warranted the backing of all friends of freedom, Coddington said, and the proposed Republican state convention, scheduled for the fall of 1855, met the approval of the people.¹³

On April 20 Coddington left Chicago to resume his lecture tour. He spoke in strategic towns in Logan, McLean, Tazewell, and DeWitt counties; early in June he was in Fulton County.¹⁴ In mid-June he penned a series of articles that Vaughan arranged to have placed in the *Chicago Tribune*. In the first article Coddington set forth his concept of the doctrine of natural rights as the guiding principle of good government. The controlling force in society, he said, had always been a right-minded minority. The minority constructed the locomotive and generated the steam. The rest of mankind was obliged to "hitch on or be left." Success was a steady diffusion of light and could not be measured at the polls alone.¹⁵ Throughout history, Coddington contended, success had been built on the foundations laid by people who had been declared failures by society. Wickliffe, for example, had

ers; C. H. Ray to E. B. Washburne, Chicago, April 21, 1855, E. B. Washburne Papers; *Illinois Gazette* (Lacon), Aug. 18, 1855, p. 2.

13. The letter was published in *Free West* (Chicago), May 24, 1855, p. 2; *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 23, 1855, p. 2.

14. Letters of Coddington to Maria P. Gooding, from Chicago, April 20, 1855, and Lockport, Ill., April 21, 1855; Coddington memorandum of receipts, Dec. 1, 1854, to Oct. 8, 1855, Coddington-Preston Family Papers. *Joliet Signal*, April 24 (p. 2), Sept. 11 (p. 2), 1855; *Free West* (Chicago), May 24, 1855, p. 2; *Chicago Daily Tribune*, May 23 (p. 2), June 12 (p. 2), 1855.

15. Clipping in Ichabod Coddington Collection, Friends Library, Swarthmore College; see also *Chicago Daily Tribune*, June 20, 1855, p. 2.



ICHABOD CODDING

(Courtesy, Friends Historical Library, Swarthmore College)

been pronounced a miserable failure, but without a Wickliffe, there would have been no Luther. And without a Liberty convention in April, 1840, there would have been no Buffalo convention in 1848 and "no anti-Nebraska triumph in '54." Elijah Lovejoy's martyrdom was pronounced a fool's death by many in 1837, but his mantle fell upon his brother Owen, who succeeded in his fight against slavery. Thus, Coddington argued, Elijah Lovejoy's "spirit passed into thousands of others, quickening zeal, inspiring devotion, multiplying sacrifices. . . . Men may shatter the vase but only to diffuse its sweet contents through the common air."¹⁶

During the remainder of June and most of July, Coddington labored for the cause in Woodford, Fulton, and Morgan counties.¹⁷ He arrived in Quincy

16. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, June 22, 1855, p. 2.

17. Coddington to Maria P. Gooding, Metamora, Ill., March 17, 1855; Coddington memorandum of

on Tuesday, July 24, and lectured to a large audience for five successive evenings in Kendall's Hall. At the end of his address on Saturday, John Wood, a Whig, was elected chairman of a business session whose purpose was to organize a permanent fusion party. Archibald Williams, the defeated Whig candidate for Congress in 1854, introduced resolutions that were unanimously adopted by the meeting (Williams was chairman of a Whig-dominated resolutions committee chosen the previous day). The resolutions opposed the extension of slavery to the territories but pledged to refrain from interfering with the institution in the states where it existed. The meeting called on all who concurred to unite, without regard to other issues, so that the resolutions could be given practical effect. Lincoln read the resolutions and informed Lovejoy that he would be willing to "fuse" upon such grounds.¹⁸

Codding was overjoyed with the Quincy meeting. He had succeeded in effecting his first fusion of Whigs, Free Democrats, and anti-Nebraska Democrats in southern Illinois. "This is the inauguration of the Republican movement in Middle and Southern Illinois, and mark my word, it will be responded to and followed up throughout this region of the country, and, in due time," he predicted optimistically. He informed the *Tribune* that the people of the Quincy area thought a Republican convention should be held in Springfield during the autumn "to harmonize views and consolidate strength."¹⁹

Early in August, Codding turned northward. He lectured in Sangamon

receipts, Dec. 1, 1854, to Oct. 8, 1855, Codding-Preston Family Papers; *McDonough Independent* (Macomb), July 6 (p. 2), 20 (p. 2), Aug. 10 (p. 2), 1855; *Free West* (Chicago), July 12 (p. 2), 19 (p. 2), 1855; *Canton Weekly Register*, Sept. 13 (p. 2), Oct. 18 (p. 2), Dec. 13 (p. 2), 1855; *Ottawa Free Trader*, July 21, 1855, p. 2; *Illinois Sentinel* (Jacksonville), July 13 (p. 2), 20 (p. 2), 1855; clipping from *Morgan Journal* (Jacksonville) in Codding-Preston Family Papers.

18. Clipping from *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Ichabod Codding to the editors, July 30, 1855, Ichabod Codding Collection; *Daily Quincy Whig*, July 28, 1855, p. 3; *Quincy Herald*, Aug. 6, 1855, p. 2; *Pike County Free Press* (Pittsfield), Aug. 9, 1855; Abraham Lincoln to Owen Lovejoy, Springfield, Aug. 11, 1855, in Roy P. Basler, ed., Marion Dolores Pratt and Lloyd A. Dunlap, asst. eds., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1953), II, 316-17. For John Wood's political background as a Whig, see *History of Adams County, Illinois . . .* (Chicago: Murray, Williamson, & Phelps, 1879), p. 713. For Archibald Williams's Whig background, see Magdol, p. 116. The resolutions committee was composed of Williams, E. H. Dudley, and W. Powers; Williams and Dudley were Whigs, Powers cannot be identified. See Davis F. Wilcox, ed., *Quincy and Adams County: History and Representative Men* (Chicago: Lewis Pub. Co., 1919), II, 907-08.

19. Ichabod Codding to editors, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, July 30, 1855, clipping from the *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Ichabod Codding Collection.

and Marshall counties and then late in the month addressed a mass Republican convention for the Third Congressional District at Granville. The convention unanimously affirmed its opposition to further encroachment of the "slave power" and called for a mammoth Republican convention to be held in the central part of the state in the autumn.²⁰

In the meantime the Republican Committee had been able to secure the services of Joshua R. Giddings of Ohio. It was assumed that because of his Whig background he could draw hesitant Whigs into the movement. Giddings joined Coddington on September 11 and together they lectured in seventeen counties by October 4. The central theme of their lectures was that all parties should forget past prejudices and animosities and unite as Republicans. Resolutions adopted at their meetings usually called for a state-wide convention in the autumn of 1855. The meetings were so successful that the tour paid for itself.²¹

In northern Illinois the Coddington-Giddings campaign also aroused a strong demand for a state convention of the Republicans. The *Galena Advertiser*, for instance, proposed that the convention be held during the state fair, scheduled for Chicago in 1855. Other newspapers agreed that the convention would offer an excellent opportunity for the people of Illinois to consider the late developments concerning slavery in Kansas and throughout the nation.²² In central and southern Illinois, however, the hard core of Whig newspapers continued to oppose fusion. The *Illinois State Journal* of Springfield announced that the antecedents of Coddington and Giddings did not recommend them "to the conservative . . . portion of the community." "Patriotic men cannot be too careful how they sympathize with or lend their influence to mere sectional parties," warned the editor.²³ The *Illinois State Chronicle* of Decatur agreed that a convention

20. *Illinois Daily Journal* (Springfield), Aug. 6, 1855, p. 3; *Illinois Gazette* (Lacon), Aug. 18, 1855, p. 2; *Freeport Journal*, Sept. 6, 1855, p. 2.

21. Undated clipping from *Chicago Daily Tribune* in Ichabod Coddington Collection; memorandum of receipts for the Coddington-Giddings tour, Sept. 11 to Oct. 1, 1855, Coddington-Preston Family Papers; *Joliet Signal*, Sept. 18 (p. 2), Oct. 2 (p. 2), 23 (p. 2), 1855; *Illinois Gazette* (Lacon), Sept. 15, 1855, p. 2; *Peoria Weekly Republican*, Aug. 10 (p. 2), Sept. 21 (p. 2), 1855; *Peoria Daily Democratic Press*, Aug. 14 (p. 2), Sept. 21 (p. 2), 1855; *Peoria Weekly Democratic Press*, Oct. 10, 1855, p. 2; *Ottawa Free Trader*, Oct. 27, 1855, p. 2; *Canton Weekly Register*, Sept. 27, 1855, p. 2; *Alton Weekly Courier*, Oct. 11, 1855, p. 1; *Pike County Union* (Griggsville), Oct. 1 (p. 2), 8 (p. 2), 1855; *Daily Illinois State Journal* (Springfield), Sept. 26, 1855, p. 2.

22. *Freeport Journal*, Sept. 13, 1855, p. 2, citing *Galena Advertiser*.

23. *Daily Illinois State Journal* (Springfield), Sept. 26 (p. 2), July 17 (p. 2), 1855.

was needed to unify anti-Nebraska forces, as had been done in Ohio, Indiana, and New York, but warned that the abolitionists would intrude in the convention and try to "abolitionize" it, causing it to fail as the Republican state convention had failed in 1854. The *Carrollton Gazette* saw the safety of the future in a Conservative party, yet unorganized but existing as a "star unobscured" among all of the "isms" of the day. Moderates of all parties, the editor suggested, should "rally at once and bury forever these contemptible, vile annoying hobbies of political tricksters, and with them their fanatical riders."²⁴

Republican antislavery leaders realized that they would have difficulty in mobilizing a convention that would be truly representative of the whole state unless they could draw the more conservative Whigs and anti-Nebraska Democrats into the coalition. To do that, it would be necessary to win over their leaders, Abraham Lincoln and Lyman Trumbull. Owen Lovejoy wrote both men on August 7, and suggested a broad fusion movement and a mass convention in the autumn. Neither man was willing to join the Free-Soilers in a fusion movement for a state convention, however, although they stated that they were ready to do what they could to prevent the spread of slavery. Lincoln was ready for fusion, he said, but he did not want to make any move at that time for fear of offending old friends and political allies. Trumbull was willing to cooperate in a convention under the banner of the Democratic party that would stand equally against the extension of slavery and abolitionism. But he would not participate in a fusion movement because the Democrats in his section of the state had such an extreme aversion to the movement. "I see and feel the want of concerted action . . .," he wrote Lovejoy, "but whether it would be advisable at this time to call a state convention of all those opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, irrespective of party, is very questionable."²⁵

The radicals in the Republican party—represented by former Liberty and Free-Soil men such as Coddington, Lovejoy, and Eastman—were eager to join with any group that stood on free-soil ground. They would not compromise on the question of the extension of slavery into the territories,

24. *Illinois State Chronicle* (Decatur), Sept. 20, 1855, p. 2; *Carrollton Gazette*, Aug. 11, 1855, p. 2.

25. Lincoln to Lovejoy, Aug. 11, 1855, in *Collected Works*, II, 316-17; Trumbull to Lovejoy, Aug. 20, 1855, Lyman Trumbull Papers, Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield.



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but neither would Lincoln when the test came in 1861. The organizers of the Republican movement of 1854, in contrast, sought fusion of all opponents of the extension of slavery at the beginning of the controversy over the Kansas-Nebraska bill. The desire for a state convention therefore stubbornly refused to die, but there was no organization to issue the call except the Chicago committee that had sponsored the antislavery mass meetings. Since a call from that group alone would have implied too narrow a base of support, it was decided to forego an autumn convention and organize, instead, after a national organization had taken shape.²⁶ Thus it appeared—to later writers, at least—that the Republican party was dead. The conservative Whig journals remained hostile, and as late as November, 1855, the *Illinois State Journal* caustically observed that the Republican party was “so intensely sectional, that its existence could not be continued with safety to the Union.”²⁷

26. *Aurora Guardian*, Oct. 4, 1855, p. 2.

27. *Daily Illinois State Journal* (Springfield), Nov. 15, 1855, p. 2.

Throughout 1855, however, Republican leaders had energetically endeavored to create a new image of the party. They consistently denied that it was sectional or that it was intriguing with the Know-Nothings. Regional fusion conventions in the autumn of 1855 were designed to reinforce the new Republican image. A call for a Stephenson County convention in October urged all opponents of the extension of slavery, regardless of previous party affiliation, to unite preparatory to a complete amalgamation for the election of 1856. The leaders of the movement were Thomas J. Turner and H. M. Sheetz, who before 1854 had been, respectively, a Democrat and a Whig. Sheetz had worked closely with Coddington in 1854, and he assured the public in an editorial in his *Freeport Journal* that there was "nothing of sectionalism, proscription or fanaticism" in the Republican party. The resolutions adopted at the county convention declared the federal government to be one of limited delegated power without authority to permit slavery in the territories or to interfere with slavery in the states. The convention repudiated and condemned the "prescriptive and anti-Republican doctrine of the Know-Nothing's."²⁸

Early in November the Republicans of Chicago also met in convention and resolved that the mission of their party was to maintain the "Liberties of the People" and the "Sovereignty of the States," provided, however, that "all National Territory *shall be free*." Chicago's German voters were reassured with a statement that the party was in favor of maintaining the naturalization laws unchanged. On the prohibition issue the party saw no need of conformity among its supporters but agreed to recognize the late decision of the majority in Illinois in rejecting the Maine Law.²⁹

As 1855 drew to a close, Coddington could look back with much satisfaction on his accomplishments: largely through his efforts, a vital Republican movement had been sustained in northern Illinois. Early in the new year he again took up the cause of Republicanism. In the last half of January, he gave a series of lectures in College Hall at Bloomington. After the first lecture on Monday, January 14, the editor of the *Weekly Pantagraph*

28. *Freeport Journal*, Oct. 25, 1855, p. 2; John A. Clark to E. B. Washburne, Oct. 30, 1855, Washburne Papers. The convention adopted the joint resolutions of the Whig and Republican conventions which met in Syracuse late in Sept.; see *New York Daily Tribune*, Sept. 28, 1855. For T. J. Turner's previous political affiliations, see Albert J. Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln, 1809-1858* (Boston: Houghton, 1928), II, 277, 667.

29. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Feb. 9, 1856, p. 1.

reported that Coddington "spoke plainly but kindly of the people of the Slave States, and his remarks would be listened to by any respectable class of citizens in any State of this Union."³⁰ On January 21, in his seventh lecture, Coddington declared that Democrats had departed from "the faith of the Fathers." The only way to restore the government to its original principles was by a union of the various elements that would oppose the administration on the broad basis of the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution.³¹ When the Democratic *Flag* of Bloomington claimed that the *Pantagraph* had once threatened Coddington with indignities, the *Pantagraph* denied the charge.³²

On January 23 Coddington lectured in La Salle. He emphasized the effects of slavery on the personal interests of the people of the whole nation as well as on the development of the country.³³

A month later Coddington was one of the Illinoisans who attended the Republican National Convention at Pittsburgh. Besides the old-time abolitionist leaders, such as Lovejoy, Coddington, Vaughan, and Wait Talcott, the Illinois delegation included William F. M. Arney, John McMillan, and A. Danford from the ranks of the movement as well as John H. Bryant, who had joined the political abolitionists during the Free-Soil campaign in 1848.³⁴

The convention opened on February 22, and at the first session the floor was turned over to the delegates for short expressions of opinion. One of the first speakers was Horace Greeley, who rose in his long white coat to tell the audience that friends in Washington had warned the Pittsburgh organizers to "observe extreme caution in their movement." Giddings spoke next. He challenged Greeley's warning and advocated militant action. W. H. Gibson of Ohio agreed with Giddings. He did not want a word of counsel or advice from Washington, that "sinking-hole of pride and political pollution." Coddington then took the floor. Although a majority of the delegates, approximately four hundred in number, represented the radical wing of the Republican movement, Coddington occupied a unique

30. *Weekly Pantagraph* (Bloomington), Jan. 16, 1856, p. 2; *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Jan. 22, 1856, p. 1.

31. *Weekly Pantagraph* (Bloomington), Jan. 23, 1856, p. 2.

32. *Ibid.*, Feb. 6, 1856, p. 2.

33. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Jan. 28, 1856, p. 2.

34. *New York Daily Times*, Feb. 26, 1856, p. 4.

position. He was the only delegate from the ranks of Theodore Weld's "Seventy" who had evangelized the North in the antislavery crusade of the 1830's. He was thus more firmly committed than most others to finding a common ground against slavery that a northern majority could stand on. But he was also less hostile than many of his colleagues to the conservatives in the movement. Like the previous speakers, he resented the influence from Washington. He was not in favor of yielding the judgment of the convention to dictation, but counsel from any source, he said, should be heeded. Principle should never be sacrificed for more success, however. "Better be right and fail than wrong and succeed. If we are defeated, and our Cause is just, we will come out of the contest purified and organized," he predicted. Codding applauded the firmness with which the Free-Soil men of the Union had made their long stand against the encroachments of the slave power.³⁵ Although the spirit of the convention was radical, its address was conservative. No challenge to the Fugitive Slave Law was proposed, and the possibility of the admittance of future states was implied.³⁶

At the same time the Illinois radicals were attending the Republican convention in Pittsburgh, a more conservative group was meeting in Illinois for the purpose of establishing a permanent state organization. Just before Christmas in 1855, Paul Selby had proposed that the state's anti-Nebraska editors meet in convention to create an organization for the state and national campaigns of 1856. The *Winchester Chronicle*, edited by John Moses, also a Whig, endorsed the proposal. The *Decatur Chronicle*, a Whig newspaper edited by W. J. Usrey, added support and suggested that the convention be held in Decatur.³⁷

The contrast between the men attending the Decatur and Pittsburgh conventions was striking. The Pittsburgh delegation was predominantly political abolitionist with Liberty party and Free-Soil antecedents, whereas the Decatur delegates were primarily conservative Whigs. The *Chicago*

35. *St. Clairsville (Ohio) Gazette and Citizen*, Feb. 28, 1856, p. 2; *New York Daily Times*, Feb. 23 (p. 4), 26 (p. 2), 1856.

36. Benjamin F. Hall, *The Republican Party and Its Presidential Candidates* (New York: Miller, Orton, and Mulligan, 1856), pp. 453-54, 459-60.

37. *Daily Quincy Whig*, Dec. 24, 1855, p. 2, Jan. 21, 1856, p. 2; *Illinois State Chronicle* (Decatur), Jan. 27, 1856, p. 2; Church, pp. 30-31. A group of lawyers met in Springfield in Dec., 1855, and laid the plans for the Decatur meeting. See Wright, pp. 92-93; Paul Selby to Richard

Tribune was represented in both meetings—radical John Vaughan at Pittsburgh and moderate Charles H. Ray at Decatur. Abraham Lincoln had been named a delegate to the Pittsburgh convention but chose to remain in Illinois to confer with the delegates at Decatur.³⁸

Two of the editors, Ray and George Schneider of the Chicago *Staats Zeitung*, rose early on February 22, 1856, to make their trip from Chicago to Decatur for the convention. A cold wind from the northwest whipped the snow into their faces as they boarded a hack. Slowly the horses plowed through the snow in the almost deserted streets and made their way to the station. There Ray and Schneider entered the cars and hovered over the stove for warmth. When they arrived in Decatur, they faced a cold wind as they clambered into a cab bound for the Cassel House. The anti-Nebraska editors' convention was small, consisting of only a dozen men. When the conference opened, two trains had not made it through, and the editor of the *Illinois State Journal* was among those who was not yet there. Selby was made chairman and Usrey acted as secretary. Ray was selected chairman of the resolutions committee. Lincoln took no official part in the business of the convention but was consulted by members of the resolutions committee. The final resolutions called for the restoration of the Missouri Compromise but recognized the constitutional existence of slavery in the slave states and the constitutionality of the Fugitive Slave Law. The convention was committed to maintaining the naturalization laws without change but expressed determination to "repel all attacks" upon the common schools "by the organized adherents of any religious body whatever." Before they sat down to a "sumptuous dinner" in the spacious dining room, they selected a conservative state central committee and recommended a state convention at Bloomington on May 29, 1856.³⁹

In the autumn of 1855 the Whigs of central Illinois had consistently refused to cooperate with the antislavery Republicans in setting up a state organization and calling a state convention. At the time of the Pittsburgh convention, they, like the anti-Nebraska Democrats, were still sitting "on

Yates, Feb. 14, 1856, Yates Papers, Illinois State Historical Library.

38. Green B. Raum, *History of Illinois Republicanism . . .* (Chicago: Rollins Pub. Co., 1900), pp. 26-27.

39. Church, pp. 30-31; Moses, II, 598; *Illinois State Chronicle* (Decatur), Feb. 28, 1856, p. 2; Monaghan, pp. 60-61; *Waukegan Gazette*, March 1, 1856, p. 2; George H. Mayer, *The Republican Party, 1854-1964* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964), p. 39.

the fence like benumbed prairie chickens in winter.”⁴⁰ The conservative Whigs preferred impotence to fusion with the Republicans. Thus while the radical Republicans were in Pittsburgh, the conservatives set up a state Republican organization based on conservative principles and free of the taint of abolitionism. The *Peoria Weekly Republican* reported that there were planks in the platform that would not suit the ultra-abolitionists and proslavery fanatics.⁴¹ The *Galesburg Free Democrat* probably reflected the radical sentiment at the time when it announced six days after the Decatur convention: “We can never sail under *that* flag.”⁴²

On his return from Pittsburgh, Coddington spent a few days at his home in Lockport before he started out again on the Republican lecture campaign. In March he spoke twice at Keithsburg, seat of Mercer County, and was reported to have played “sad havoc” among the conservatives by indoctrinating the people “with the great fundamental principles of the fathers” rather than with a narrow plan of anti-Nebraska opposition.⁴³ He was also reported to have changed one half of the inhabitants from “doubt and distrust to cordial co-operation.”⁴⁴ Before he moved on into the more hostile territory of Warren County, Coddington addressed the Henderson County Republican convention at Oquawka.⁴⁵ As more and more moderate counties like Mercer and Henderson joined the Republican ranks, the party seemed assured of a broad state representation in 1856.

The Democrats of Warren County were determined that Coddington would not carry their county as he had the neighboring communities. When he spoke at Little York, however, he was able to “raise his audience to the highest pitch, enchain them there, and let them down at his pleasure.”⁴⁶ After his address at New Lancaster, a rebuttal was offered by Robert Holloway, a Democrat from Monmouth, who repeated the story that Coddington had dragged the flag in the mud at Ottawa in 1854.⁴⁷ On the following evening Coddington spoke from eight until midnight in the Baptist

40. John G. Nicolay to Paul Selby, Aug. 14, 1886, John G. Nicolay Papers, Library of Congress.

41. *Peoria Weekly Republican*, Feb. 29, 1856, p. 2.

42. *Daily Quincy Whig*, Feb. 28, 1856, p. 2; *Galesburg Free Democrat*, Feb. 28, 1856, p. 2.

43. *Oquawka Spectator*, March 28, 1856, p. 2; *Chicago Daily Tribune*, April 2, 1856, p. 2.

44. *Chicago Daily Tribune*, April 2, 1856, p. 2.

45. *Galesburg Free Democrat*, April 10, 1856, p. 2.

46. *Monmouth Atlas*, April 11 (p. 2), June 20 (p. 1), 1856.

47. *Monmouth Review*, April 18, 1856, p. 2; *Monmouth Atlas*, April 18, 1856, p. 2.

Church of Berwick. He denied the charge of disrespect to the flag and said that anyone who declared the story true was a "wilful falsifier." At the end of his address, Holloway had words with him concerning the flag story. Holloway wanted a statement that he had not lied. But Coddington only repeated the words he had used in the address. At one point Holloway grabbed Coddington by the collar and Coddington finally agreed that he had not accused the man of lying. Members of the audience then called for Holloway, and he occupied the platform until two o'clock in the morning. At the completion of his speech, he gave three cheers for Douglas and Kansas. The Republican chairman stated that his action was improper in a church and in a meeting of another political party. When the chairman announced that Holloway's action had been ungentlemanly, there was another exchange of words, and Holloway knocked the chairman off the platform. The meeting broke up in disorder.⁴⁸

Coddington went on to speak at Galesburg, Knoxville, and Abingdon in Knox County,⁴⁹ and then crossed the Mississippi and lectured briefly in southern Iowa. He spoke twice at Keokuk. "Our Fathers held to the doctrine of noninterference with Slavery in the States, so do we. Our fathers . . . said *no more Slave Territory*, so do we." These were the principles of the Republican party, he said, and nothing else, "certainly not nigger stealing, nor abolition, nor amalgamation, nor disunion" as sometimes falsely charged. The *Keokuk Gate City* informed its readers that Coddington's speech was "full of telling points and unanswerable facts."⁵⁰ Early in May, before the statewide anti-Nebraska convention at Bloomington, Coddington made five stops in Henry County.⁵¹

By late spring the state anti-Nebraska convention had finally won the support of the conservative Whigs, but only after they had made certain they could dominate its sessions. In Springfield a meeting for the selection of delegates to the state anti-Nebraska convention was called for May 24. Heading the list of signers to the call was the name of Abraham Lincoln. It had been put there by William H. Herndon when Lincoln was

48. *Galesburg Free Democrat*, April 10, 1856, p. 2; *Monmouth Review*, April 11 (p. 2), April 18 (p. 2), 1856; *Monmouth Atlas*, April 18, 1856, p. 2; *Rock Island Morning Argus*, April 26, 1856, p. 2.

49. *Galesburg Free Democrat*, April 3 (p. 2), 10 (p. 2), 24 (p. 2), 1856.

50. *Keokuk Gate City* cited by *Galesburg Free Democrat*, May 8, 1856, p. 2.

51. *Galesburg Free Democrat*, May 1, 1856, p. 2.

away from Springfield. The Springfield Whigs protested, and Herndon wrote Lincoln asking for approval. Lincoln wired back: "All right. Go ahead. Will meet you, radicals and all." The delegates selected May 24 were charged only with joining in action against the Democrats. They had no commitment to join in organizing a Republican party. Lincoln still looked on himself as a Whig as he had in August of the previous year, and the Whig organization of Sangamon County had lost little of its conservatism. Job Fletcher, one of the members and a conservative Whig, had "no taste for fusion with abolitionists, know nothings and renegade democrats." "Why fuse in Sangamon . . .," he queried, "have we whigs not 600 majority?"⁵²

The anti-Nebraska Democrats also finally accepted the idea of a united convention, but with certain reservations. Lyman Trumbull was willing to join the fusionists if they would stand on the single issue of opposition to the spread of slavery to the territory of Kansas. He was even willing to accept the label Republican though again with reservations. "When I speak of the Republicans I do not mean such as have assumed that name in Illinois and who oppose the fugitive slave law, and the admission of any more slave states under any circumstances," he explained to John M. Palmer.⁵³ Jefferson Dugger, a former Whig editor, agreed and wrote to Trumbull, "While I regret to be compelled to join in the ranks of some of the leaders of the Republican party, I can still, see no escape from it with our principles whole, unless we look certain defeat in the face." The solution to the dilemma, he thought, was to hold the Republicans "to a respectable and commanding conservatism."⁵⁴

Ten days before the convention Orville Hickman Browning told how the conservatives were working to control the convention at Bloomington. "We wish, if possible, to keep the party in this State under the control of

52. *Daily Illinois State Journal* (Springfield), May 10 (p. 2), 26 (p. 2), 1856; *Daily Illinois State Register* (Springfield), May 29, 1856, p. 2; Lincoln to Joshua F. Speed, Aug. 24, 1855, *Collected Works*, II, 320-23; Elwell Crissey, *Lincoln's Lost Speech: The Pivot of His Career* (New York: Hawthorn Books, 1967), p. 254; Ameda Ruth King, "The Last Years of the Whig Party in Illinois—1847 to 1856," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 32 (1925), 143-45.

53. Trumbull to John M. Palmer, Jan. 24, 1856, in George Thomas Palmer, ed., "Collection of Letters from Lyman Trumbull to John M. Palmer, 1854-1858," *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 16 (1923), 29.

54. Dugger to Trumbull, Feb. 26, 1856, Lyman Trumbull Manuscripts, Library of Congress (microfilm in Illinois State Historical Library, Springfield).

moderate men, and conservative influences, and if we do so the Future destiny of the state is in our own hands—victory will inevitably crown our exertions.” But, he added, “if rash and ultra counsels prevail all is lost.”⁵⁵ The conservatives wanted a “respectable” convention, untinged by the stigma of abolitionism, and they had therefore been trying to get the most prominent anti-Nebraska Whigs and Democrats in the state to agree to attend the convention.

In the days immediately preceding the convention, Lincoln was attending court in Vermilion and Champaign counties. On May 27 he left Champaign on the Wabash Railroad, accompanied by citizens of both counties who were also on their way to the Bloomington convention. It was necessary for them to lay over at Decatur until the next morning for the Bloomington train. Lincoln was very uneasy about the representation of Whigs from the southern counties, which he hoped would be sufficient to counteract the radical element from the northern counties, expected to be out in force.⁵⁶

While the delegates were gathering at Bloomington, Paul Selby lay ill in Jacksonville from injuries received in a brutal beating. He had been attacked by a group of slavery sympathizers on a Jacksonville street. Selby had been the principal organizer of the Bloomington convention but had not worked out the final agenda before he was injured. That task was therefore taken over by Browning, who arrived in Bloomington at 4:00 P.M. on May 28. During the evening Browning conferred in his hotel room with fifteen or twenty leaders representing all shades of opinion. It was agreed that spokesmen for each position would occupy the platform. The leaders also agreed to a set of resolutions that would be acceptable without amendment.⁵⁷

On May 29 the weather was unseasonably cool, though it was a fine day for a convention. The 8:00 A.M. train brought men in tall hats and frock coats. Along the street leading to convention headquarters at Pike House,

55. Orville Hickman Browning to Lyman Trumbull, May 19, 1856, Trumbull Manuscripts, Library of Congress.

56. J. O. Cunningham, “The Bloomington Convention of 1856 and Those Who Participated in It,” *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, 10 (1906), 104.

57. Crissey, pp. 122, 134-35; Theodore Calvin Pease and James G. Randall, eds., *The Diary of Orville Hickman Browning: Volume I, 1850-1864*, Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. 20 (Springfield: Illinois State Historical Library, 1925), p. 237.

politicians speculated on the course of the meeting and arranged for future conferences. Lincoln arrived early on the train from Decatur in the company of Jesse K. Dubois, a Whig from central Illinois. When Dubois saw Lovejoy and Codding at the convention, he wanted to go home, but Lincoln talked him out of it.⁵⁸

The Pike House was full to overflowing. "Long" John Wentworth was there, standing a head above the crowd and earnestly engaging one after another in his attempt to make Democrats, Whigs, and Free-Soilers forget old prejudices and work in harmony on the issue of a free Kansas. Isaac N. Arnold could be seen perched upon the main stairway, reading to the crowd with "almost tragic emphasis" the dispatches coming in from Kansas. News of the destruction in the city of Lawrence and the clubbing of Senator Charles Sumner in Washington disturbed the delegates, and the convention that had seemed doomed to conservative apathy appeared likely to change.⁵⁹

The convention opened at 10:00 A.M. in Major's Hall, which was packed almost to the point of suffocation. George T. Brown, Whig editor of the *Alton Courier*, called the meeting to order. Archibald Williams of Adams County was made temporary chairman. Browning, also of Adams County, moved that a committee of nine representing each congressional district be appointed to report permanent officers for the convention. The committee was composed of safe conservative men, and John M. Palmer, a red-faced giant who was leading the forces of the anti-Nebraska Democrats from Macoupin County, was made president. From membership on the resolutions committee to the delegates to the national convention and the state central committee, the president kept all positions in conservative hands.⁶⁰ This was not difficult because most of the delegates were conservative. Those with an abolitionist background were fewer than a dozen. Codding of Will County, and three men from Bureau County—Lovejoy,

58. Cunningham, pp. 105-06; Crissey, p. 135; Henry C. Whitney, *Life on the Circuit with Lincoln* (Boston: Estes and Lauriat, 1892), p. 76; Willard L. King, *Lincoln's Manager, David Davis* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1960), p. 104.

59. Cunningham, p. 105; Mayer, p. 39; King, p. 111.

60. See *Daily Illinois State Journal* (Springfield), May 30, 1856, p. 2. The difference between the state central committee in 1854 and 1856 is striking. The state central committee in 1856 was composed of two former Democrats, Charles H. Ray and Norman B. Judd, and three former Whigs, James C. Conkling, Asahel Gridley, and Burton C. Cook. For Conkling's political background, see James N. Adams, comp., *Index to Illinois State Journal, 1851-1860*, TS, Illinois State

Charles C. Kelsey, and John H. Bryant—represented the leadership of the Liberty and Free-Soil movement.⁶¹

The convention recognized these antislavery men by giving one of their number a place in the organization. Since the antislavery forces were in control of Owen Lovejoy's district, the Third Congressional District, he was the one recognized, and he was named to the resolutions committee and selected as a delegate to the national convention. He was even trusted to speak before the convention. He had been warned by Browning's program committee, however, to speak calmly and avoid arousing bitterness. Lovejoy did what he could to win over the abolition haters. In his speech he insisted that his enemies had misrepresented him as an abolitionist. He was thereby able to minimize much of the unreasonable prejudice against himself and the old Liberty men. The radical antislavery men agreed that they should cooperate with the delegates to the Bloomington convention because both groups seemed to be moving in the same direction. Bryant wrote his brother, William Cullen Bryant of the *New York Post*, that the movement represented old Democrats, old Whigs, and old Liberty men who had never acted shoulder to shoulder before but had united to "save the heritage of liberty from destruction, and to drive back the all-grasping power of slavery to its acknowledged bounds."⁶²

In a convention swept with a feverish sense of urgency and dedication, it was Lincoln who made the strongest anti-Nebraska speech. He concluded with a warning to the South: "We won't go out of the union, and you shant!" This was a far cry from his position of 1854 when he had hopes of reviving the Whig party. Neither the Decatur nor the Bloomington convention met under the name of the Republican party, however. Both were called anti-Nebraska conventions.⁶³

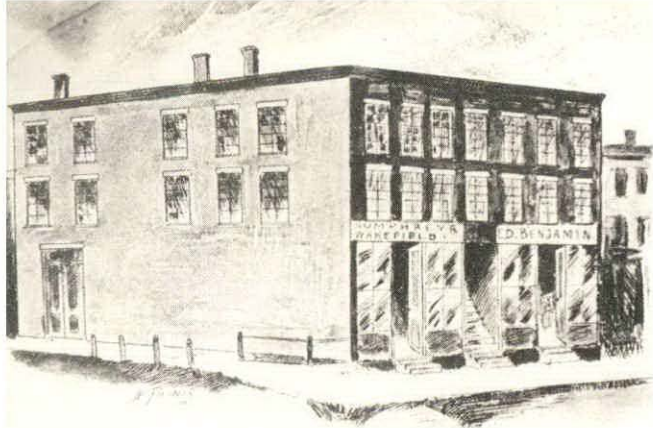
The 1856 Bloomington convention differed from the 1854 Springfield convention primarily in the antecedents of the organizers and directors.

Historical Library, p. 73; for Gridley's and Judd's politics, see Theodore C. Pease, ed., *Illinois Election Returns, 1818-1848*, Collections of the Illinois State Historical Library, Vol. 18 (Springfield: Illinois State Historical Library, 1923), pp. 345, 380; for Cook's background, see Crissey, p. 329; for Brown's background, see *Chicago Daily Tribune*, Jan. 21, 1856, p. 2.

61. *Daily Illinois State Journal* (Springfield), May 30, 1856, p. 2.

62. *Ibid.*, May 30, 1856, p. 2; Nicolay and Hay, II, 28; *Transactions of the McLean County Historical Society* . . . , p. 178; *New York Evening Post*, June 9, 1856.

63. Cunningham, p. 108; King, p. 107; *Illinois State Chronicle* (Decatur), Feb. 28, 1856, p. 1; *Weekly Pantagraph* (Bloomington), June 4, 1856, p. 2.



Major's Hall, left, and the Pike House at Bloomington

were ignored from beginning to end. They watched helplessly as the party they had done so much to nurture and cultivate was taken over by Lincoln and the conservatives. Codding could well observe: "For the time being . . . our particular element is ruled out in almost every direction." Codding nevertheless threw himself into the work of making the Republican party a success. Although the Republican State Central Committee ignored him, he received many calls to speak throughout the state. Like most political abolitionists, he believed that the movement was going in the same direction he had been traveling for twenty years, and he argued that since there were only two political parties, the Republicans would ultimately be driven "to take the whole antislavery issue."⁷⁰

In July, 1855, the abolitionist paper, the *Free West*, was taken over by the *Chicago Tribune*; and after the Bloomington convention the *Tribune* began to take a more moderate position on the slavery issue. As a result Codding found that he needed another medium for reaching the voters with the Republican doctrine. He therefore wrote and published an election manual, which he sold at a nominal sum under the title *The Freeman's Manual*.⁷¹ Combined with his free-lance lecturing, the *Manual* made Codding a significant force throughout the campaign of 1856. Thus, in the years 1854-1856 Ichabod Codding, more than any other person in Illinois, sowed the seed that Lincoln harvested in 1860.

(Boston: Richard G. Badger, 1930), p. 166; E. L. Pierce to S. P. Chase, May 3, 1856, C. M. Clay to S. P. Chase, May 10, 1856, Ichabod Codding to S. P. Chase, June 10, 1856, Salmon P. Chase Papers, Library of Congress; *New York Tribune*, May 7, 1856.

70. Codding to Chase, June 10, 1856, Chase Papers; Mayer, pp. 39-40.

71. *The Freeman's Manual: A Book of Principles and Facts for the People, and Especially Adapted to the Use of Republican Speakers and Orators* (New York: Wright, Medill, Day and Co., 1856). There were other editions, with slightly varying titles.

Neither convention was truly statewide. Thirty counties sent no delegates to Bloomington, and those who represented the central and southern sections of the state were, with a few exceptions, self-appointed.⁶⁴

The conservative wing of the anti-Nebraska forces seemed to have gained control of the movement by early summer of 1856. In the Third Congressional District, however, the radicals were still predominant, and at the district convention they nominated Owen Lovejoy for Congress. He won over Leonard Swett, Lincoln's choice and the candidate of the conservatives. The selection of Lovejoy was explained by C.L. Kelsey, "We felt then the need also of asserting our own equal manhood, that we were not only good enough to vote, but good enough to be voted for, and we determined to test and vindicate it in the person of Owen Lovejoy."⁶⁵

Lincoln said later that when he heard about Swett's defeat, "It turned me blind." But "after much anxious reflection," he decided not to oppose Lovejoy in the campaign.⁶⁶ The ultra-conservatives were unable to take the nomination in good grace, however. They called a separate convention at Bloomington and on the evening of July 16 nominated T. Lyle Dickey to oppose Lovejoy.⁶⁷ The more reasonable men among the conservatives urged Dickey to withdraw, and he did so on September 13. But many of the old Whigs simply refused to cast any vote in the congressional contest.⁶⁸

The antislavery Republicans had wanted to use the convention at Bloomington to lay the groundwork for nominating Salmon P. Chase as President. Codding had urged the nomination in several anonymous or unsigned articles for the *Chicago Tribune*, and just before the convention he wrote an article on "Presidential Candidates" in which he attempted to push Chase to the front. Vaughan delayed publishing the statement, and as the convention drew to a close, the drift of delegate opinion was obviously toward John Charles Frémont.⁶⁹ Codding and the Free-Soilers

64. Church, p. 32.

65. *Weekly Pantagraph* (Bloomington), July 16, 1856, p. 2; *Bureau County Republican* (Princeton), June 16, 1864, p. 1; *Ottawa Weekly Republican*, July 5, 1856, p. 2.

66. Lincoln to David Davis, July 7, 1856, filed with Abraham Lincoln Collection, Illinois State Historical Library.

67. *Urbana Union*, July 24, 1856, p. 2; *Weekly Pantagraph* (Bloomington), July 23, 1856, pp. 1-2.

68. Isabel Wallace, *Life and Letters of General W. H. L. Wallace* (Chicago: R. R. Donnelley, 1909), pp. 75-76; Magdol, pp. 154-63; King, pp. 112-14.

69. Andrew Wallace Crandall, *The Early History of the Republican Party, 1854-1856*

ICHABOD CODDING'S POLITICAL TOURS, 1855-1856

DAY AND HOUR	PLACE County and City	EVENT	SOURCE
January 1, 1855	La Salle County Ottawa	Speaking engagement on "Principles of the Republican Party"	<i>Free West</i> (Chicago) 12-28-54
January 2, 1855	La Salle County La Salle	"	<i>Free West</i> (Chicago) 12-28-54
January 3, 1855	Putnam County Granville	"	<i>Free West</i> (Chicago) 12-28-54
January 4, 1855	Putnam County Magnolia	"	<i>Free West</i> (Chicago) 12-28-54
January 5, 1855	Marshall County Lacon	"	<i>Free West</i> (Chicago) 12-28-54
January 6, 1855	Woodford County Metamora	"	<i>Free West</i> (Chicago) 12-28-54
March 5, 1855	La Salle County Lowell	Fund raising & speaking engagement	Memorandum of Receipts, Dec. 1, 1854—Oct. 8, 1855
March 7, 1855	Putnam County Granville	"	Memorandum of Receipts, Dec. 1, 1854—Oct. 8, 1855 Coddington to Maria Gooding, March 9, 1855
March 8, 1855	Putnam County Hennepin	Speaking engagement	Coddington to Maria Gooding, March 9, 1855
March 9, 1855	Putnam County Florid	Fund raising & speaking engagement	Memorandum of Receipts, Dec. 1, 1854—Oct. 8, 1855
March 10, 1855	Putnam County Mt. Palatine	"	Memorandum of Receipts, Dec. 1, 1854—Oct. 8, 1855
March 11, 1855 10:30 A.M.	Putnam County Union Grove	Speaking	Memorandum of Receipts, Dec. 1, 1854—Oct. 8, 1855
March 11, 1855 Evening	Putnam County Magnolia	Speech on temper- ance	Coddington to Maria Gooding, Dec. 1, 1854—Oct. 8, 1855
March 16, 1855	Woodford County Lowpoint	Speaking	Memorandum of Receipts, Dec. 1, 1854—Oct. 8, 1855
March 17, 1855 11:00 A.M.	Woodford County Metamora Courthouse	Speaking	Coddington to Maria Gooding, March 17, 1855
March 21, 1855	Tazewell County Morton	Republican organi- zational meeting	Coddington to Maria Gooding, March 21, 1855
March 22, 1855	Tazewell County Morton	Fund raising & speaking	Memorandum of Receipts, Dec. 1, 1854—Oct. 8, 1855
March 23, 1855	Tazewell County	Speaking	Coddington to Maria Gooding, March 21, 1855
March 24, 1855	Tazewell County	"	"
March 25, 1855	Tazewell County Sand Prairie	Sermon	"

DAY AND HOUR	PLACE County and City	EVENT	SOURCE
March 26, 1855	Tazewell County Circleville	Speaking	Memorandum of Receipts, Dec. 1, 1854—Oct. 8, 1855
March 27, 1855	Tazewell County Green Valley	"	"
March	Tazewell County Hittle's Grove (now Armington)	"	Codding to Maria Gooding, March 25, 1855
April 3, 1855	Tazewell County Hittle's Grove (now Armington)	"	Memorandum of Receipts, Dec. 1, 1854—Oct. 8, 1855
April 4, 1855	Logan or McLean County Mount Hope	"	"
April 5-11, 1855	Tazewell, McLean, DeWitt, Sangamon, and Morgan counties	Arranging and planning for lectures	<i>Free West</i> (Chicago) 5-24-55 <i>Chicago Tribune</i> 5-23-55
April 13, 1855	Will County Lockport	Personal business	Codding to Maria Gooding, April 14, 1855
April 14-20, 1855	Cook County Chicago	Conferences with Republican Committee	Codding to Maria Gooding, April 14, 1855, April 20, 1855
April 21-22, 1855	Will County Lockport	Personal business	Codding to Maria Gooding, April 21, 1855
April 23, 1855	Logan County Atlanta	Arrangements for lectures	"
April 24 or 25, 1855	McLean County Bloomington	Political conferences	"
May 1, 1855	Logan County Atlanta	Lecture	Memorandum of Receipts, Dec. 1, 1854—Oct. 8, 1855
June 5, 1855	Fulton County Lewistown	Arranging for lectures late in June in Fulton County	<i>Chicago Tribune</i> 6-5-55
June 6, 1855	Fulton County Farmington	Lecture	Memorandum of Receipts, Dec. 1, 1854—Oct. 8, 1855
June 22, 1855	Knox or Wood- ford County Uniontown	"	"
June 27, 1855	Marshall or Peoria County Lawn Ridge	"	"
June 30, 1855	Fulton County Lewistown	Lecture on court- house steps after request for court- house rejected	<i>McDonough Independent</i> (Macomb) 7-6-55
June 30, 1855	Fulton County Ipava	Address on Repub- lican principles	<i>Free West</i> (Chicago) 7-19-55
July 1, 1855	Fulton County Lewistown	Sermon on slavery & politics	<i>McDonough Independent</i> (Macomb) 7-20-55, 8-10-55
July 4, 1855	Fulton County Vermont	Independence Day address	<i>McDonough Independent</i> (Macomb) 7-6-55

DAY AND HOUR	PLACE County and City	EVENT	SOURCE
July 5, 1855	Fulton County Vermont	Address on Republican principles	Memorandum of Receipts, Dec. 1, 1854—Oct. 8, 1855
July 7, 1855	Morgan County Jacksonville Courthouse	Speaking	<i>Free West</i> (Chicago) 7-12-55 <i>Illinois Sentinel</i> (Jacksonville) 7-13-55 <i>Morgan Journal</i> clipping in Coddington-Preston Collection
July 8, 1855	Morgan County Jacksonville Courthouse	Sermon	<i>Morgan Journal</i> (Jack- sonville) clipping in Coddington-Preston Collection <i>Illinois Sentinel</i> (Jacksonville) 7-13-55
July 9-21, 1855 (approximately)	Rural Morgan County	Lectures & fund raising	Memorandum of Receipts, Dec. 1, 1854—Oct. 8, 1855
July 24-28, 1855	Adams County Quincy Kimball's Hall	Lectures Tuesday through Saturday	Clipping from <i>Chicago Tri- bune</i> of Coddington to editor 7-30-55 in Coddington Collection, Quaker Library, Swarth- more College <i>Daily Quincy Whig</i> 7-28-55 <i>Hannibal (Mo.) Messenger</i> , cited by <i>McDonough Independent</i> (Macomb) 8-3-55 <i>Pike County Free Press</i> (Pittsfield) 8-9-55
August 6, 1855 Evening	Sangamon County Springfield	Lecture on Repub- licanism	<i>Illinois Daily Journal</i> (Springfield) 8-6-55 Memorandum of Receipts, Dec. 1, 1854—Oct. 8, 1855
August 16, 1855	Marshall County Lacon	"	<i>Illinois Gazette</i> (Lacon) 8-18-55
September 1, 1855	Kendall County Lisbon	"	Memorandum of Receipts, Dec. 1, 1854—Oct. 8, 1855
September, 1855	Will County Joliet	Two lectures in Joliet and can- vass of Will County	<i>Joliet Signal</i> 9-11-55
September 11, 1855	Will County Joliet	Giddings-Coddington lectures	<i>Chicago Tribune</i> , undated clipping in Coddington Collection, Quaker Library, Swarthmore College
September 12, 1855	La Salle County Peru	"	"
September 13, 1855	Putnam County Magnolia	"	"
September 14, 1855	Marshall County Lacon	"	<i>Chicago Tribune</i> , undated clipping in Coddington Collection, Quaker Library, Swarthmore College <i>Illinois Gazette</i> (Lacon) 9-15-55
September 15, 1855	Woodford County Metamora	"	<i>Chicago Tribune</i> , undated clipping in Coddington Collection, Swarthmore College

DAY AND HOUR	PLACE County and City	EVENT	SOURCE
September 17, 1855	Peoria County Peoria	"	"
September 18, 1855	Tazewell County Pekin	"	"
September 19, 1855	Fulton County Canton	"	<i>Chicago Tribune</i> , undated clipping in Coddington Collection, Swarthmore College <i>Canton Weekly Register</i> 9-27-55
September 20, 1855	Fulton County Vermont	"	<i>Chicago Tribune</i> , undated clipping in Coddington Collection, Swarthmore College
September 21, 1855	Schuyler County Rushville	"	"
September 22, 1855	Brown County Mt. Sterling	"	"
September 24, 1855	Adams County Quincy	"	"
September 25, 1855	Pike County Griggsville	"	<i>Pike County Union</i> (Griggsville) 10-1-55
September 26, 1855	Pike County Pittsfield	"	<i>Pike County Union</i> (Griggsville) 10-1-55 <i>Chicago Tribune</i> , undated clipping in Coddington Collection, Swarthmore College
September 28, 1855	Morgan County Jacksonville	"	<i>Chicago Tribune</i> , undated, clipping in Coddington Collection, Swarthmore College
September 29, 1855	Sangamon County Springfield	"	"
October 1, 1855	Madison County Alton	"	"
October 2, 1855	St. Clair County Belleville	"	"
October 3, 1855	Logan County Atlanta	"	"
January 14-21, 1856 January 14-16, 18-21, 1856	McLean County Bloomington College Hall	Seven lectures	<i>Chicago Daily Tribune</i> 1-22-56 <i>Weekly Pantagraph</i> (Bloomington) 1-16-56, 1-23-56, 2-6-56
January 17, 1856	Tazewell County Mackinaw	Lecture on Repub- licanism	<i>Chicago Daily Tribune</i> 1-25-56
January 18, 1856	Tazewell County Mackinaw	Lecture on Repub- lican party	<i>Chicago Daily Tribune</i> 1-25-56
January 23, 1856	La Salle County La Salle	"	<i>Chicago Daily Tribune</i> 1-28-56
February 21-22, 1856	Pittsburgh Pennsylvania	Speech at Mass Republican Convention	<i>St. Clairsville (Ohio)</i> <i>Gazette and Citizen</i> 2-28-56 <i>New York Times</i> 2-23-56, 2-26-56
March 18-23, 1856	Mercer County Keithsburg	Two speeches during the week	<i>Chicago Daily Tribune</i> 4-2-56

DAY AND HOUR	PLACE County and City	EVENT	SOURCE
March 31, 1856	Warren County Little York	Lecture on Republicanism	<i>Monmouth Atlas</i> 4-11-56
April 3, 1856	Warren County New Lancaster	"	<i>Monmouth Review</i> 4-18-56 <i>Monmouth Atlas</i> 4-18-56
April 4, 1856	Warren County Berwick	"	<i>Galesburg Free Democrat</i> 4-10-56 <i>Monmouth Atlas</i> 4-18-56 <i>Monmouth Review</i> 4-11-56, 4-18-56
April 5, 1856	Knox County Galesburg	"	<i>Galesburg Free Democrat</i> 4-3-56, 4-10-56
April 8, 1856	Henderson County Oquawka	Henderson County Republican Mass Convention	<i>Galesburg Free Democrat</i> 4-10-56
Week of April 14-20, 1856	Knox County Knoxville	Lecture on Republicanism	"
Week of April 14-20, 1856	Knox County Abingdon	"	"
Week of April 14-20, 1856	Knox County Henderson	"	"
May 5, 1856	Henry County Oxford	"	<i>Galesburg Free Democrat</i> 5-1-56
May 6, 1856	Henry County Galva	"	"
May 7, 1856	Henry County Kewanee	"	"
May 8, 1856	Henry County Cambridge	"	"
May 9, 1856	Henry County Geneseo	"	"

The Chicago Daily News and Traction Politics 1876-1920

ROYAL J. SCHMIDT

DURING THE PERIOD 1876-1920, issues of municipal reform in Chicago played a major role in the development of editorial attitudes of the *Chicago Daily News* and its owner and publisher, Victor Fremont Lawson. The influence of the *News* and its publisher, although difficult to measure precisely, was greater at the urban and state levels than at the national level. *News* editorials were usually reflections of Lawson's personal points of view and political-economic philosophy. His business interests, as publisher of one of the largest metropolitan newspapers in America, as well as his active role in connection with the Associated Press and the American Newspaper Publishers' Association, had some influence upon the evolution of editorial policy. The newspaper's avowed objectives of nonpartisanship, independence, and impartiality were therefore only occasionally and partly attained. Circulation wars with other Chicago papers such as the *Tribune*, *Journal*, and *Inter Ocean*, all of which were concerned to some extent with urban reform, plus struggles with rival press associations and syndicates, not only helped shape editorial policy of the *News* but played some part in provoking and prolonging political rivalries.

Although the *News* frequently reflected considerable interest in liberal and progressive reforms, the basic philosophy of the publisher was that of